

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" I shall be satisfied, if ministers (the Addingtons) will take up the matter (the seizure of the Carnatic by Lord Wellesley) in such a way as to bring it to a full and fair investigation; but, if they do not, I pledge myself to take it up in such a way, that, if the government of India has been guilty of the inordinate acts which are now charged upon them, the British nation, at least, shall be rescued from the suspicion of giving countenance to acts so flagrant and atrocious."—MR. SHERIDAN'S Speech in the House of Commons, 28th of June, 1802.

" I retain all my former sentiments respecting the transactions in the Carnatic; but, I have expressed, in confidence, to the honorable gentleman (Mr. Francis), the impropriety of introducing any subject that would have a tendency to divide His Majesty's ministers at this important crisis. A time may come, perhaps, when the subject may be taken up with advantage, but I do not think that the present moment is a favorable one."—MR. SHERIDAN'S Speech in the House of Commons, 22d April, 1806.

" But, gentlemen, what ought most powerfully to attract your attention, is, that His Majesty's ministers, that the men to whose hands are committed the receipt and the disbursement of that immense amount of taxes, which are taken from the fruit of your labour, have, from the first moment to the present, exerted their power and their influence to the utmost stretch, for the purpose of screening Lord Melville."—MR. FOX'S Speech to the electors of Westminster, in Palace Yard, 3d May, 1805.

" To all these points we beg the best attention of your honourable House. We beseech you to pursue with effect what you began with so much honor. We intreat you not to relax in your efforts till you have brought Viscount Melville to condign punishment, and given to all, who shall be found to have committed similar crimes, a signal demonstration, that, in the representatives of the people, instead of abettors of their iniquities, they will find only the faithful guardians of the nation, and the zealous vindicators of the laws. And by so doing your petitioners will ever pray."—PETITION OF THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, seconded by Mr. Fox, and presented by him, 3d May, 1805.

" When a bad system has prevailed, the best mode of remedying it is not by impeaching an individual, but by removing the person who has carried on such a system; and to take care that none such shall be acted upon in future. . . . I believe, that, in some cases, charges against individuals may be brought forward, rather with a view to popularity, than from any very ardent desire to promote the ends of justice. . . . No honest man, in a criminal case before the House, would wish to use any other influence than that derived from the force of truth; and, for this reason, I shall wait till the whole of the information is before the House, and I highly disapprove of sounding a trumpet in every stage of the business."—MR. FOX'S Speech in the House of Commons 18th April, 1806.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA. (Continued from pages, 171, 197, 237, 303, 368, 460, 530, and 545.) On Friday, the 18th instant, a debate took place in the House of Commons, upon a motion, made by Mr. Paull for the production of papers relative to the conduct of Marquis Wellesley towards another of the unfortunate princes of India. In the course of this debate, Mr. Francis took occasion to repeat, that, having published his speech of the 5th of April last, in which speech the conduct of Lord Wellesley was

condemned in the most unqualified terms, Mr. Fox, after having read that speech, in a pamphlet, told him Mr. Francis, that the speech was *unanswerable*. This opinion, thus deliberately given, Mr. Francis certainly meant the House to compare with Mr. Fox's present conduct, with regard to Lord Wellesley; and, the effect of such comparison, the reader will already have felt in his own mind. Mr. Fox, having evidently made up his mind to go the full length, through the whole of the question, rose, and said, that, the speech referred



to, he did say was unanswerable, but, he meant of course, that it was unanswerable, "unless some one should be able to answer it"! Whether we should call this a mental reservation, or by what other name we should denominate it, is a question that one would like to refer to some Doctor of St. Omer's, if that celebrated seminary were not, unhappily, no longer in existence.—— He said, that, if he approved of Mr. Francis's speech upon the whole, he *particularly* approved of that part of it, wherein the honourable gentleman expressly declined the intention of impeaching Lord Wellesley.—— The whole of this speech of Mr. Fox was curious in the highest degree. Some of its most prominent sentiments will be found in the last paragraph of my motto. I have stated them as I find them in the newspapers; and I do sincerely wish, that I could doubt of the correctness of the statement; but, to my great grief and mortification, I myself heard them uttered. Upon these sentiments it was my intention to make some observations; but, having received, from a real friend of Mr. Fox; from a friend long disinterestedly attached to him, a letter, addressed to that gentleman upon the subject, I will insert the letter here, word for word, and, whatever may be whispered in the hear of Mr. Fox, however he may flatter himself, or be soothed by the flattery of others, I venture to affirm, that this man expresses the opinions and the feelings of *all*, yea of *all* those, whose attachment has hitherto reflected honour upon Mr. Fox.—— "To the Right Honourable Charles James Fox. Sir, when I first saw your name on the list of his Majesty's confidential servants, I was one of those who looked for a most happy result. I had supposed, that the æra had arrived, when the country might expect to see realized, what the promise of many years had held out: that there would be a speedy enquiry into, and a thorough remedy of all subsisting abuses. But I am concerned to find, from your late parliamentary declarations, that our hopes, here, are to be sadly disappointed; and that we are to behold the disinterested patriot, dwindling, from paltry personal considerations, into the dependant of a party, and into the defender of those abuses, which he solemnly pledged himself to reform.—— I do not mean to say, sir, because you had once stood forth, as the advocate of supposed Eastern wrongs, that you should volunteer your services, without a knowledge of the subject, or a conviction of the merits of it, in the support of every case, wherein prejudice or partiality should

think fit to demand them. But though you have not accepted, nor are bound by any general retainer; we surely might have expected from Mr. Fox another sort of declaration, than that which he has made; which is not only at war with all his former principles, but with every notion of justice and of right; which would not only go to discourage every enquiry; but to protect every delinquent; whatsoever might be his offences or his crimes.—— You have shewn no shame,—but have assumed, Sir, rather a pride, in the public dereliction of sentiment. For you have applauded the conduct of your former colleague, (Mr. Francis) on the question of the Mahratta war, because he saught not in the investigation, to involve the advisers of that unhappy measure in the pains of a criminal prosecution. You have expressed yourself satisfied, that the author of the mischief, if it were any, had been driven from his office. Your argument deems it sufficient to cut off the existing evil, without examining how it originated, or preventing, by wholesome correctives, the possible recurrence of it.—That it is enough in all bad measures, to take away the framers of them, so as to leave, no doubt, a *free circulation of offices*:—that this may be convenient for placemen, we will not deny, but that this is a doctrine to be favoured by the minister of the day, is too intolerable to bear.——What, Sir, are men to be permitted to go from one enormity to another (for to such an extent does your argument proceed), and when the measure of their sins is full, that, gorged with gain, and bloated with blood, they be allowed to retire from their situations, to the enjoyment of their well-earned wealth, in peace and in impunity?——That they be dismissed in course, with

—— "Edisti satis atque bibisti,  
"Tempus abire."

Thus, the only security against future mal-administration, is the expected virtue of the new minister; in which, it is not very impossible, as I have shewn, that we may eventually be deceived. But what, in such an order of things, should insure the right use of power in the successor? Certainly not the escape or immunity of his predecessor. He is to be left at large; and if the example teach him any thing, it is this: "Go and do thou likewise!"—To this strange doctrine of the inviolability of the persons of governors, you have added something yet more strange as to the consideration of their offences: I allude, Sir, to your declaration about *systems*. You have stated,—giving a seeming credit to the act



of the late Governor-General of India, which you confess that you have not yet considered,—that, sick of impeachments, you are not inclined to impeach any governor, merely for the system of his government. This avowal may square, perhaps, with your present notions of responsibility, but cannot be reconciled to any received opinion of mankind.—What! if a man lay down a *rule* of rapine and of murder,—which, I think, is your argument,—and have nerve and hardihood enough to pursue it, in an undeviating course, and with laudable and persevering industry; that he shall find, in the continuation of his enormities, the exculpation and expiation of his guilt! that is—a puny, solitary sin, may be prosecuted to conviction and the scaffold; but when a bold and barefaced crime is kept in countenance by a hundred brethren of the same dye, it is to lose, in the new school of morality, the opprobrium and the name of guilt, and to be dignified with the appellation of a liberal and enlightened *system*—worthy of approbation, and exempt from vulgar sanction. This is a principle which few would dare to broach; and none, with less ability than you possess, could possibly attempt to vindicate.—I have sought not, in what I have just written, to pronounce an opinion, one way or other, on the merits or demerits of Lord Wellesley's government; but to acquaint you, that your friends have noticed your extraordinary assertions on this head, with concern and regret; for the meanest capacity must be sensible, that your new principle, in every application of it, but more particularly to the affairs of a distant government, is replete with danger. Incalculable mischief might be committed in India, before the report of it could reach the mother-country; and before the author of it could be removed, the evil might become irremediable. I think it may be added, that there can be no chance of a pure government in the East, but by teaching governors, by severe, but salutary examples, that, as the national confidence is particularly reposed in them, the abuse of their power will be visited by a punishment suitable to their crimes."—The words, as quoted from Mr. Fox's speech in Palace-Yard, I myself heard, and very much approved of. I was one amongst those who signed the petition; and what, then, must be my sentiments at hearing the speech last quoted! It is easy for the sycophants of Whitehall to impute to me "a love of opposition": it is easy for them to say, that I "must always be in opposition": but, I can assure them, that these imputations and assertions will in no

wise, serve their purpose: the public will see the consistency of my conduct, and, in spite of all such imputations, they will applaud it. My wish, and my confident expectation was, not to be in what is called opposition, and, of this, I am certain the ministers themselves are well convinced; but, if the choice lies between going into opposition, and an abandonment of my principles, no one man whom I respect will think it necessary for me to hesitate. Mr. Fox's conduct has given me great pain. I do not say this by way of trick. He knows that I do not. He knows that I always expected a *change of system*, and especially a rigorous pursuit of all peculators, a rigid inquiry into, and correction of, all abuses that were known to exist, and particularly those abuses which tended to burden the already over-burdened people. I was always of opinion, an opinion a hundred times over expressed, that, without this, it were better that no change of men should take place. This opinion might be erroneous. I think, that it was not so. But, be that as it may, it was my expressed opinion; and, therefore, for the sycophants of Whitehall now to pretend that *I have changed*, merely from a love of opposition, can be regarded as nothing more than a proof that they have not one single argument on their side.—We now come to the debate of Monday, the 21st instant, upon a motion of Lord Archibald Hamilton for producing, upon the table of the House of Commons, a copy of the *intended dispatch* of the Court of Directors to Lord Wellesley, dated 3d of April, 1805. This motion was, as usual, resisted by Mr. Fox. His reason may easily be guessed at, when it is known, that he was most loudly cheered by Lord Temple; or, better, perhaps, when the reader has considered the reasons for producing it, as stated in page 545 and the following. Upon this occasion Mr. Windham and Dr. Laurence stood forth in the cause of fair investigation. They broke loose from the shackles that appear to have been, and still to be, so powerful. Mr. Wilberforce and several other independent members of parliament supported the motion. The debate closed with a division, which produced only 37 votes for it, while there were 121 against it. Those who voted in the minority were as follow:

Andover, Lord  
Babington, T.  
Fane, —  
Fonblanque, J.  
Francis, P.  
Fuller, J.  
Grant, C.  
Hudleston, J.  
Hutchinson, C. H.

Monte, P.  
Paull, J.  
Percher, J. D.  
Præd, W.  
Prinsep, J.  
Roberts, J.  
Thelluson, G. W.  
Thomson, A.  
Wilberforce, W.



Inglis, Sir H.  
Keck, A.  
Laurence, F.  
Mills, C.  
Mills, W.

Windham, W.  
*Tellers.*  
Hamilton, Lord A.  
Johnstone, G.

—The *intended dispatch* is not, however, to be thus kept from the light. Many persons have now copies of it, thanks to the East India Directors and to the press! Mr. Wellesley Pole has since said, in parliament, that he understands that *four clerks were employed to copy this paper, at Mr. Budd's in Pall Mall*. And what then? The reason of employing four clerks in preference to one clerk is evident; namely, because four clerks can copy faster than one clerk. And, as to the *place*; why not at No. 100, Pall Mall, as well as at any other place? It is true, that Mr. Wellesley Pole might tell us, that such a thing would not have been done in *Calcutta*, especially while Lord Wellesley was the Governor-General; but, I appeal to the reader, whether, at the very outset of this struggle, I, for my part, did not caution the “Body-Guard,” the famous, ever famous Body-Guard, to recollect, that they were no longer in *Calcutta*? I refer to page 174 of this volume, where the reader will see, that I threw out this caution. The truth is, that, if it had not been for those *fine Regulations relative to the Press*, which were established, and rigidly enforced in India, and which have so much astonished people here, since they were published in the present volume, page 374; had it not been for this dreadful system of suppression, the *intended dispatch* would never have existed; for the acts which it condemns never could have been committed; and, I fear not to say, that, from the total destroying, or, not suffering to exist, the liberty of the press in India, the people of England will have to pay millions upon millions of money. Mr. Sheridan, whom, perhaps, I shall notice again by-and-by, makes much-a-do about the liberty of the press; but, not a word does he say about the press in *Calcutta*, though he must, one would think, have read the Regulations referred to! Is this, too, necessary for the preservation of “harmony amongst his Majesty’s ministers” (God save the mark!) “at this important crisis?”

—Leaving Mr. Sheridan, for the present, we will come to the debate upon the production of Mr. Faulkner’s *First Charge*, on Tuesday, the 22d instant; and, first of all, I here insert a sketch of the charge itself, exactly as I find it in the report of the proceedings, as given in *THE TIMES* newspaper of the 23d inst. — “The hon. member then proceeded to read from a written paper the several heads of charge against Marq. Wellesley, but with a rapidity which rendered it

“extremely difficult even to catch the substance with any degree of accuracy. The statement commenced with recapitulating the appointment of the Noble Marquis to the chief government of Bengal, about the middle of October, 1797, as successor to Marquis Cornwallis, and that he reached the seat of his government in May, 1798, in which he continued until he was superseded by the Marquis Cornwallis’s re-appointment to the government in August, 1805; and that the said Marquis Wellesley, though he was solemnly sworn to obey the instructions of his employers, and do every thing in his power, and to the best of his judgment, to promote and support their just and lawful interests in India, yet instead of so doing, on his arrival in India, he disregarded their authority, disobeyed their instructions, assumed to himself a despotic power, turned his back upon the true interests of the Company, and did without their permission, and contrary to their instructions, for the gratification of his own caprice, with the most flagitious profusion, and for corrupt purposes, squander the money of the said Company to an enormous extent. It recited also the charter granted to the company by parliament in the year 1793, upon the express condition that, in consideration thereof, the company should annually pay to the government, out of the surplus profits of their trade, after deducting the necessary expenses of conducting their affairs, the sum of 500,000*l.* annually; the assets of the company in England to be answerable for such payment, and subject to an interest of 15 per cent.: but that in case of a war in India, or any other reasonable cause to prevent the regular payment of the said annual sum, upon representation from the company to his Majesty’s ministers, it should be lawful to defer the payment, and the debt so due to be funded by the company, as due to the government, charged with an interest of 6 per cent. But that the company had never paid any part of that sum. In consequence, a debt to government of six millions had accrued; but the deficiency of surplus, and the consequent inability of the company to pay this sum, had not arisen from any cause of war, but entirely from the misconduct of the said Marquis Wellesley, who had most profusely, lavishly, and shamefully squandered the property of the company, and neglected those interests which, by engagements the most solemn, he had sworn to promote with vigilance and economy; whereby the said company were not only in-



“ involved in a debt of several millions to the  
 “ government, but debts also, to the amount  
 “ of many millions, had been incurred in  
 “ India, at an increasing interest of 6, 8,  
 “ 10, and 12 per cent. The result of which  
 “ was, that the debt of the company, which,  
 “ on the accession of Marquis Wellesley to  
 “ the Indian government in 1798, stood at  
 “ 11,043,648 l. was, on his departure from  
 “ that government in 1805, increased to  
 “ above 31,000,000 l. That when Mar-  
 “ quis Wellesley first arrived in India, every  
 “ part of the company's affairs wore an as-  
 “ pect of prosperity: it had, therefore, only  
 “ remained for him to have acted with an  
 “ ordinary vigilance, and to have followed  
 “ the example and the system of his noble  
 “ predecessor, the Marquis Cornwallis. In-  
 “ stead of which, the said Marquis Welles-  
 “ ley, by wantonly and profusely increasing  
 “ the public expenditure, did not only  
 “ squander all the ordinary means in his  
 “ hand, but all the additional money he was  
 “ able to raise by loans and additional taxes,  
 “ supporting a wanton and profuse style of  
 “ living, unparalleled in the case of any  
 “ former chief governor of that country,  
 “ insomuch that he was driven by his extra-  
 “ vagance to attempt the selling of the im-  
 “ posts upon the lands of Bengal, and he so  
 “ much embarrassed the finances and affairs  
 “ of the company, as to endanger the loss of  
 “ their territory. The statement next pro-  
 “ ceeded to recapitulate the contents of the  
 “ letter received by the Court of Directors  
 “ from the Marquis Cornwallis, dated in  
 “ August, 1805, when sent out to India for  
 “ the purpose of superseding Marquis Wel-  
 “ lesley, in which he gives a deplorable  
 “ statement of the company's affairs, arising  
 “ entirely from the profusedness of his  
 “ predecessor in squandering the resources  
 “ of the company, one branch of which was  
 “ his keeping up unnecessarily an army of  
 “ irregular troops, at an enormous expense,  
 “ which the Marquis Cornwallis found it  
 “ absolutely necessary to disband, in order  
 “ to avoid losing the means of defraying the  
 “ charges indispensable for the maintenance  
 “ of the regular army. The Noble Mar-  
 “ quis, in disbanding those troops, stated,  
 “ that he adopted the measure unavoidably,  
 “ as the lesser evil, at the risque, certainly,  
 “ of their engaging in other service inim-  
 “ ical to the company, but considering them  
 “ much less formidable to meet in the field,  
 “ than to retain them in pay, at an expense  
 “ which must absorb the means of paying  
 “ the regular army; that in order to clear  
 “ the arrears of pay due to those irregulars,  
 “ he had been under the absolute necessity  
 “ of detaining the treasure of the company

“ destined for the China trade, to the  
 “ amount of 250,000 l. Having gone  
 “ through many other items on the letter of  
 “ Marquis Cornwallis, already before the  
 “ public, the statement next alluded to the  
 “ war which broke out in the month of  
 “ March, 1799, with Tippoo Sultan, which  
 “ ended with the taking of Seringapatam  
 “ and the death of that tyrant; that the  
 “ consequence of that war was, that enor-  
 “ mous sums of money were extorted by  
 “ order of Marquis Wellesley from the  
 “ Nabobs of Oude, Arcot, Ferruckabad,  
 “ and some others, after which commenced  
 “ the Mahratta war in 1804, which was  
 “ terminated in the course of the year; and  
 “ so far from the expenses of those wars  
 “ being the cause of those embarrassments  
 “ of the company's affairs already stated, it  
 “ appeared, from letters of Lord Wellesley  
 “ himself to the Court of Directors, that,  
 “ by the treaty of Hyderabad, the annual  
 “ revenues in the provinces that then be-  
 “ came tributary increased their income  
 “ above 544,000 l. a year, and therefore  
 “ that any argument founded upon the pre-  
 “ tence of warlike expenses could not, as  
 “ would appear from Marquis Wellesley's  
 “ own letter, dated the 1st of September,  
 “ 1803, interfere with the causes of the in-  
 “ ability of the company to pay their annual  
 “ engagements to the state. That except  
 “ the wars before mentioned, the said Mar-  
 “ quis Wellesley was engaged in no other  
 “ war during the period of his government,  
 “ except that with Holkar, if war it could  
 “ be called, and except that with the Rajah  
 “ of Bhurtpore, in which the only loss sus-  
 “ tained was the loss of lives and of ho-  
 “ nour. That therefore, not wars, but the  
 “ unexampled prodigality and wanton pro-  
 “ fusion of the Marquis, were the true  
 “ causes of the embarrassment of the com-  
 “ pany's affairs; a profusion and extrava-  
 “ gance engaged in with the most sinister,  
 “ vicious, and corrupt views, and defiance  
 “ of the authority, and in contempt of the  
 “ orders of his employers. The embarrass-  
 “ ment partly arose from new-modelling  
 “ the Criminal Courts of Bengal; from in-  
 “ creasing, wantonly and unnecessarily, the  
 “ number of their officers, and giving large  
 “ salaries to his friends and favourites; in  
 “ the expenditure of an enormous sum for  
 “ the establishment of packets, and grant-  
 “ ing large salaries and sinecures to his fol-  
 “ lowers, (amongst which was the grant of  
 “ 1500 l. a year to Sir William Burroughs),  
 “ amounting altogether to the sum of  
 “ 1,300,000 l.; the erection of a College at  
 “ Fort William, without the authority of the  
 “ company, which cost 181,689 l.; an un-



“ necessary journey of the Noble Marquis,  
 “ in 1801, to the Upper Provinces, in which  
 “ the most extravagant expenditure has ta-  
 “ ken place, one item of which was for  
 “ 1100 boats, and the whole charge 30,000l.  
 “ There was a charge also of 220,000l. for  
 “ the erecting and fitting up of a palace for  
 “ the residence of the Marquis, which was  
 “ decorated in a style of splendour unparal-  
 “ leled even among Eastern Princes. There  
 “ was a charge for a house and garden, for  
 “ the Noble Marquis at Bhurtpore, 15,000l.  
 “ Besides all this, there was a charge for re-  
 “ viving a body guard of cavalry, which had  
 “ been put down by Sir John Shore, who,  
 “ on a principle of economy, was satisfied  
 “ to be attended on state occasions by a par-  
 “ ty of the garrison, commanded by a cap-  
 “ tain: but Marquis Wellesley resolved to  
 “ revive this body, and to increase his own  
 “ splendour; and it was maintained, for  
 “ the first five years, at an annual expense  
 “ of 40,500l. and for the whole period, in-  
 “ cluding for horses, accoutrements, and  
 “ outfit, the sum of 240,000l. There was  
 “ also a large sum advanced by the Marquis  
 “ for building a town-house for the citizens  
 “ of Calcutta, the cost of which was after-  
 “ wards to be reimbursed by them in such  
 “ subscriptions as could be obtained within  
 “ four years; a statue of Lord Cornwallis  
 “ was designed to be erected in the town-  
 “ house, instead of which it was thrown  
 “ amongst the rubbish, in the vaults under  
 “ the building, and an expensive statue of  
 “ Lord Wellesley erected in its place, and  
 “ this at a time when an arrear of five  
 “ months pay was due to the troops. The  
 “ next charge against him was the appoint-  
 “ ment of his brother, the Honourable Hen-  
 “ ry Wellesley, in 1801, to the government  
 “ of Oude, with the title of Governor and  
 “ Commander-in-Chief, and at an expense  
 “ in thirteen months of above 26,000l.  
 “ which exceeded the annual allowance of  
 “ the company to the gov.-general. He  
 “ arbitrarily retained in his own hands, to  
 “ the exclusion of all authority or interfe-  
 “ rence from the court, to the amount of  
 “ 625,200l. per annum, and under the in-  
 “ fluence which such a patronage enabled  
 “ him to exert, he procured addresses from  
 “ every part of the country, in approbation  
 “ of his justice, conduct, and services; and  
 “ further, although the trade laws of the  
 “ country strictly forbade him to accept any  
 “ money from the people of the country in  
 “ consideration of his official authority, yet  
 “ he was allowed for the luxuries of the table,  
 “ and other purposes of his own private  
 “ gratification, a sum not less than 120,000l.  
 “ and he was thus misapplying such

“ enormous sums of the company's proper-  
 “ ty to the most corrupt and profligate pur-  
 “ poses, and for the maintenance of his  
 “ household and establishment in the most  
 “ gorgeous style of splendour and profusion,  
 “ he was supporting these extravagancies by  
 “ loans borrowed in the name of the com-  
 “ pany, nominally at an interest of 12 per  
 “ cent. but, from the manner in which they  
 “ were raised, at a real interest of 16 per  
 “ cent. Throughout he had set at nought  
 “ the authority of his employers, and acted  
 “ in direct opposition to his instructions.  
 “ Mr. Paull concluded his statement (in  
 “ which, we fear, we have been able but  
 “ very imperfectly to follow him) by saying  
 “ he had read it as part of his speech, and should  
 “ now move that it be ordered to lie on the ta-  
 “ ble.”—It will be observed, that the reporter  
 “ himself apologizes for the probable errors  
 “ that may have been made by him, and, in-  
 “ deed, where he mentions Lord Cornwallis as  
 “ the immediate predecessor of Lord Wellesley,  
 “ he must have been in error; for, surely Mr.  
 “ Paull must have known, that Sir John Shore  
 “ was that immediate predecessor; and, it ap-  
 “ pears, that so he must have been represented  
 “ in the charge itself; for, in two or three of  
 “ the other newspapers that I have seen, the  
 “ like error does not prevail. I take the re-  
 “ port of THE TIMES, however, because it is  
 “ the fullest; and, as balance against the  
 “ weight of the charge, I think it proper to  
 “ state, that the friends of Lord Wellesley  
 “ boldly asserted, that none of the allegations  
 “ could be proved; but, on the other side,  
 “ Mr. Robert Thornton (one of the Directors)  
 “ declared, that he had then in his pocket the  
 “ documents to support many of those allega-  
 “ tions.—Now, whether these allegations  
 “ can be supported, is a question, which, as  
 “ yet, I am unable to decide: but, if they can  
 “ be supported; if they be supported; if the  
 “ truth of them, or of any of them, be esta-  
 “ blished, I am sure that there is good ground  
 “ for the proceeding that Mr. Paull is labour-  
 “ ing to bring about; and, I am sure, too,  
 “ that the whole of the honest and indepen-  
 “ dent part of the nation will thank him for  
 “ his exertions; for, blind as the people may  
 “ have been; stupid as they may be thought;  
 “ wretched tools as they may sometimes have  
 “ been rendered of professing patriots; they  
 “ will scarcely be so stupid as to approve, at  
 “ one and the same time, of winking at acts  
 “ like those described in the charge, and of the  
 “ carpentering and smithery that are going on  
 “ in Westminster Hall. “ Mr. Cobbett seems  
 “ to have dropped Lord Melville,” said, I  
 “ am told, a Whitehall sycophant, the other  
 “ day. Drop him! aye, and why should I  
 “ not drop him? Have I not seen you, you





who hunted him down, making a poor feeble resistance to the resolution for building a monument, at the expense of the people, to that "excellent statesman," who, being his superior in office, winked at his transactions, and who defended him to the last gasp? Have I not seen you amongst the foremost to vote away our money to pay the debts of the man, who, being duly apprized of Lord Melville's misapplying the public money, never attempted to put a stop to it, and who himself lent 40,000*l.* of that money, to two members of parliament, without interest? Have I not seen you pressing forward, in perfect rivalry, to recognize the "*merits*," the public merits, of this man, and to record that recognition by a grant of 40,000*l.* of the people's money, without one single document, whereon to found such grant? And, after having seen this; after having seen many of you voting even for the statue, am I still to applaud your motives for pursuing Lord Melville; especially when I see what you are now doing with regard to the motions of Mr. Paull?—To return to the debate upon the *Charge*; Mr. Fox complained, that so much statement by way of *proof* was introduced into it, alluding to the very important extract from Lord Cornwallis's letter. But, surely this gentleman forgot, as completely as he did the speech in Palace Yard, that, in the *Charge* which he himself drew up against Mr. Hastings, *ten times as much* statement by way of *proof* was introduced; and, why was not Mr. Paull to avail himself of the precedent? How comes it that he has less privilege than Mr. Fox had?—Another, that the main objection, was, that there were no documents upon the table, whereby to support the *Charge*. Strange, that both these objections should have come from the same lips! But, this inconsistency aside, is it not notorious, that, as Mr. Paull observed, he has been over and over again reproached with calling for papers for the purpose of "*fishing out*" the means of making a charge? "Why do you not bring your charges?" This is a question, which, as the nation will bear witness, has been put to him five or six times of an evening. Well! here, then, he has brought a charge, and he tells you, that, if you give him the official documents that he calls for, he will make it good to the last syllable. No: he must *now* bring the proof first, and the *Charge* afterwards! The House was said, by one or two, to be in the capacity of a Grand Jury, and that, *therefore*, the documents in proof should come first. It was odd enough to hear this, after one had, only the night before, heard it agreed, upon the very same ground, that the *intended dispatch*,

one of the important documents, ought *not* to be produced! But I appeal to the reader; for, where is the Englishman, to whose mind the *principles* of our jurisprudence are not familiar? I appeal to the reader whether, according to the notion which he, from his cradle upwards, <sup>as</sup> imbibed, Mr. Paull's mode of proceeding was not regular and fair? A Grand Jury! Well! and, before any evidence is called for, is not the bill of indictment, with all its awful and terrible allegations first received and read? What follows next? The evidence; the *ex parte* evidence, in support of the allegations. This, then, if it be (though contrary to every principle of the constitution) resolved to make the parliament bend to the rules of a mere court of law, is precisely the course which Mr. Paull has pursued. And yet cry of unfairness is set up against him, and by those, too, be it remembered, who have, a hundred times called on him to bring forward his charges, for that his calls for papers appeared to be without end!—But, said Mr. Fox (for all the others we will pass over), you have called for volumes of papers relating to *other parts* of the Marquis's conduct; why not bring your charges upon them first? To express no surprise (for nothing of that sort ought now to surprise us) at a question so unconstitutional in its tendency, the answer is two-fold; first, that Mr. Paull thought, apparently, that, to bring forward this charge at the end of his list, was most likely to advance the ends of justice; and, second, that many as were the papers that he had called for relative to the other charges, none of those papers were, *even at that moment*, in the hands of members of that House. And here is a fact well worthy of the attention of the people, particularly the people of Westminster, those people who used to meet in Palace Yard; which is, that the papers moved for, in this session of parliament, and on the 27th of January and the 7th of February, in justification of Lord Wellesley, were produced in five days after the motions were made, and were, in the course of ten days, actually printed and delivered to the members; while (mark the difference!) the papers, which Mr. Paull called for in the last session of parliament, and which were then ordered to be printed by a vote of the House of Commons, were not delivered until last Thursday morning, and then only in part, though, as to the bulk of them, it is less than that of the papers, in justification, produced, printed, and delivered in the space of ten days! This fact I recommend to the people, amongst whom I met in Palace Yard, to petition the House of Commons



to go on in the good work they had begun with regard to Lord Melville, and not to stop till they had made *all* violators of the law feel the vengeance of that law.—In his fact there was quite sufficient cause for Mr. Paull to change his mode of proceeding. He had twenty times, at least (I myself have heard him ten or twelve times), called upon the House to enforce its orders for the delivery of the papers he had moved for. These calls produced new promises and new delays; but they produced no papers. What was left for him, but to give up his pursuit, or to come at once with his charges? To make the charge first is, too, the regular course. It is the rational way of proceeding. It is sure to put an end to trifling. It is sure to bring forward something in the way of inquiry. And that it is a course which every member of parliament has a right to pursue, it were a base abandonment of the privileges of parliament to doubt. Mr. Fox said, to be sure, the honourable gentleman, or any other member, had a right to lay a charge upon the table against any person, but, then he did it at his "*peril*;" and so said Mr. Garrow and some others. But, what did they mean by *peril*? Did they mean, that he exposed himself to the loss of life or limb? What, then? Loss of liberty or property? No: "*loss of character*," it seems. And, does the Attorney-General lose *his character*, if a criminal happens to escape through his clutches? *Peril*, indeed! Oh, no! Mr. Paull is in no peril; or, if he be, the privilege of impeachment is come to a pretty thing at last. Mr. W. Smith, in the debate of Wednesday evening, made some very just observations upon the manner, in which Mr. Paull had been treated the night before; and the public perfectly agree in opinion with Mr. Smith. The public have felt that treatment as they ought to do. They have not failed to observe upon the unanimity between the Roses the Sheridans the Castlereaghs and the Foxes. Mr. William Smith lamented that Mr. Paull had been so "*rash* as to bring forward an affair of such magnitude without assistance." He wanted no assistance. The charge must be laid upon the table and entered upon the journals as matter of course without any seconding at all! and he was very right in asking no one to second his motion. Assistance! what assistance? We have seen enough of party impeachments. What assistance was wanted other than that of the integrity of the House of Commons? His opponents may laugh; they may set up a shout; but let them not think that the victory is theirs. The public will remember, that the laugh which was set up against Mr. Robson

(whom I am glad to see again in parliament) was not of long duration. The Addingtons accused him of rashness. A full cry was set up against him. He was told that he had advanced *false accusations*. He was called upon to *retract* his words. He was threatened by the minister with the *censure of the House*. Yet, after all this, he made good his charge, and brought his opponents to the most pitiful and sneaking apologies, having, at the same time, given the clue to those inquiries, in the Naval Treasurer's Department, that have finally produced the erections now going on in Westminster Hall. For this the country will always remain indebted to Mr. Robson. He has worth forty party men; forty speech-makers; forty men of sounding periods and of hollow professions; forty of your men, who have one set of principles for out-of-place, and another set for in-place; forty of your men, who abandon the cause to which they are pledged, for the sake of keeping a ministry together; that is to say, for the sake of keeping their places—Mr. Paull has been tauntingly told, that he came into parliament for the *express purpose* of prosecuting an inquiry with regard to Lord Wellesley. If this be true, it adds greatly to his merit, and ought to add greatly to the gratitude of the country towards him; for, *how few* are those who come into parliament from such motives! He has already done much. Through his exertions the country has become acquainted with the affairs of the East-India Company. They now know the history of the demands upon their labour for the purpose of giving money to that Company. And if Mr. Paull persevere, he will render greater services to England than has ever been rendered to it by all the speech-makers that ever existed. He has, in no instance, been presumptuous. He has, at every stage of the business, expressed his wish to see the cause in abler hands; he has repeatedly called for aid, and he has never found it. Now he does not want it. Let him proceed steadily forward, and, if his charge, if only this one charge, or any considerable part of it, be true, he will have his reward in the lasting gratitude of every honest man in England.—The state of these proceedings, at present is this: the charge lies upon the table and will be inserted and printed in the Journals of the House; but, the motion for *printing it for delivering to the members* has been rescinded upon the motion of Mr. Sheridan! The reason given was, that, by getting into print, it would, for *several months*, be operating to the prejudice of Lord Wellesley, before the documents, in support of it could be produced. And Mr. Sheridan appealed



to his right honourable friend, Mr. Hiley Addington (one of the *paid* members of the Board of Controul), whether the printing of the papers, which have been ordered, would not take up some months; to which Mr. Hiley answered that *it would*; whereupon Mr. Paull observed, that this gentleman could know nothing of the matter, seeing that all the papers were to come from the *India House*, and not from the Board of Controul! When, however, the papers, or any of them, are produced, which will be *next week*, perhaps, then the Charge will be printed; and, having the Charge before him, each member will, as the documents come out, be able to see how far they support it.—Thus has this Charge brought things into a right and regular train. As far as we, out of doors, can come at the facts, we shall now know how to proceed in the making up of our opinions. We shall know how to arrange the objects of our inquiry. We shall know *what to read and to think about*, which, hitherto, we have not known. This Charge is truly a drastic potion, and Mr. Paull must be a *very* unskilful physician, if he be surprised at its gall-stirring effects.—A Quaker, in Philadelphia, used to write to me, about once a week, in these words: "Friend William, keep thyself *cool*." This advice I hand over to Mr. Paull; and, if he follow it, he will see a day when, his present pursuit being over, he will have leisure to laugh, as I frequently have done, and now do, at the ingenious turns and devices of the author of "*The Forty Thieves*."

INSOLVENT DEBTORS.—There is now before the House of Lords, a bill for the release of Insolvent Debtors. This bill was to have been brought in by Lord Moira; but, he being engaged in an official situation, the task has devolved upon LORD HOLLAND, who, in this, as well as in many other instances which have heretofore been noticed in the Register, has, in my opinion, discovered a mind well adapted to subjects above the reach of politicians in general.—With respect to the *code* of Debtor-Laws, I once thought it (merely because it was English, perhaps) wise and just; but, a more extensive view of the subject, to which I was first led by observations made by Lord Moira, has convinced me of my error; has convinced me, that it is unwise, and unjust, and is in direct hostility with that glorious assemblage of principles, which constitute the common law of England, and which, upheld by the morality of the people, do, more than all other circumstances put together, distinguish the English government from all the other governments in

the world. To these principles, breathing freedom in every accent; watching, with never-ceasing solicitude, over personal liberty; barring up every avenue to oppression, from whatever quarter it may come; so nicely and so justly distinguishing between crimes and misfortunes; to these principles what can be so outrageously hostile as that code, which, as to consequences, renders misfortune a crime, and which, for the crime of owing ten pounds, exposes an Englishman to be deprived of his personal liberty for life?—For the effects of this terrible code the occasional passing of Insolvent Bills is the only remedy, or rather palliative. In 1804, one of these bills was passed to clear, or, at least, to thin, the crowded prisons. They are now again teeming with tenants, and with misery greater than ever. Yet, in the face of this melancholy fact, certain merchants and traders are, the newspapers tell us, about to petition against Lord Holland's bill; alledging, that it is an *ex post facto* law, and that it will be *injurious to trade*! As to the last mentioned allegation, need I say any thing in answer to those, who would keep six or seven thousand of their countrymen shut up in prison, the wives and children of many of them starving, for the sake of the advancement of trade? Need any thing be said in answer to the expression of a desire, at once so foolish and so detestable?—As to the bill being *ex post facto*; that it is not, because the creditors were fully aware, that it was *customary* to pass acts of Insolvency. Of real injury, the creditor cannot complain, seeing that the debtor is, by the same law that releases him, compelled to give up all his property, real as well as personal, and that, *every thing he may acquire after his release* is liable to be seized by the creditor; which last provision is, in the extreme, unjust towards the debtor, and impolitic with respect to its consequences in the state. Still, however, the enemies of this bill, this act of real humanity and of justice, as far as it goes in favour of the debtor, hold up their *law*, and, like Shylock with his bond in his hand, demand its rigorous execution. But, *who* is it, that thus addresses us? In *whose* behalf is it, that this demand of strict justice; this protest against yielding to the voice of many; in *whose* behalf is it, that these are made to the parliament? In behalf of the *merchants and traders* of England; in behalf of those who have frequently come to that same parliament and asked for the means of saving *themselves* from ruin, which means, from the fruit of the labour of the people, that parliament have as repeatedly, and without hesitation, granted? Of *ex post facto* laws do they com-



plain? What was the law, which, to prevent them from ruin, was passed to make bank notes a legal tender; a law, which, in a moment, broke the contract between the merchants at the Bank and the holders of their notes; a law which rendered eleven millions worth of promissory notes (payable to bearer in specie) no longer payable in specie? What was *this* law? And yet, this is the description of persons that complain of *ex post facto* laws?—The particular provisions of this bill shall be noticed hereafter, if, indeed, any thing more can be thought necessary than merely to draw the attention of my readers to the subject.—I will just add, that I am certain, that the *better* part, and even the *greater* part, of the merchants and traders of England are in favour of this bill.

PRUSSIA.—In subsequent pages of this sheet will be found the documents relative to the war with this power. That this war can do us little harm is certain; because the same effects to our trade would have been produced without a war with Prussia. Yet, the main professed *object* of the war does really seem to be quite wild; and, as to the *principle*, upon which it is stated to have been begun by us, I shall be very much surprised, if any man be able to maintain it. The war is for the *Electorate of Hanover*. This is clear, as well from the official note of Mr. Fox as from the tenour of his speech; and, that England may be justified in entering into this war, as the *ally* of Hanover there can be no doubt; but, that she can be considered as the *party injured*, without admitting the *right of conquest*, on the part of France, it is, I think, impossible to maintain. The excluding our vessels from the ports of the North is a good ground of war, in point of right; and without more time to reflect upon the subject, I will not even suppose the measure to be, in that view of it, inexpedient. But, to enter into the war, as a *principle*, on account of the seizure of Hanover, has, as far as I am able to judge, neither right nor expediency on its side.—This opinion, I shall, in my next sheet, endeavour to support by argument; unless I should, in the mean while, hear something to convince me of my error, which error I shall, in such case, not be at all ashamed to confess.—The parliament has, I know, unanimously approved of this war; but, without attempting to trace that unanimity to its *cause*, I must say, that it does not, in the smallest degree, influence my view of the question.

#### VOLUNTEER RANK.

SIR,—You have several times noticed the impropriety of military rank being given

to volunteer officers, as cheapening the honours and rewards bestowed upon the professional soldier, and wounding the feelings of men who have devoted their lives to the painful duties of a military life; but there are other reasons of great weight against the practice. It is wrong, not only in a military but a constitutional view. The conferring such rank serves no useful purpose, but, on the contrary, by extending court influence, has a very ill effect and tendency; the minister therefore who grants it, acts upon an erroneous or a corrupt principle; and the acceptance betrays either an unbecoming hankering after court favours, a silly vanity, or a want of constitutional knowledge. In the militia, army rank, by commissions immediately from the King, was first given in the winter of 1778, or the spring of 1779, to the colonels, many of whom were in parliament, and were not thought to rise in independent spirit, as they rose in imaginary honours. In the succeeding summer, a deputation from the lieutenant-colonels and majors of the camp on Coxheath, in Kent, arrived in the camp on South Sea Common, near Portsmouth, proposing a joint application of all the field-officers of those two ranks throughout the militia, to be made to his Majesty, for army rank under royal commissions; and, doubtless, had there been any value in the thing, those classes had as good pretensions as their colonels. The writer, then one of those to whom the invitation was addressed, opposed the application as altogether improper. Observing to the meeting, that the House of Representatives are, in a legal and constitutional sense, *the Commons in Parliament assembled*; so, he argued, that the militia, or martial representatives of the civil state, were, in a constitutional sense, *the people themselves bearing arms*; whereas the army were a body of men hired and paid by the people for their foreign wars, or other services. The very highest rank in the army was obtained by being selected as guards for the King, who makes but one branch of the government; whereas, it is the office of the militia to guard the whole and every thing vital to the constitution and liberties of the country. Even the whole of the army, the King's guards and all, may at any moment be sent out of the realm on foreign duty, so that even the title of King's guards, did not necessarily and essentially constitute them even the protectors of his person; while, on the other hand, the principles of a militia (although we have seen them since violated) necessarily make it the guardians of the whole government and state; and it is only a corrupt policy that looks for other guardians.



Again, the standing army was a body eyed at all times with so much constitutional jealousy, that this army never had, and he trusted never would have, more than an existence from year to year, wholly dependent upon the legislature, whether it should or should not have a being; whereas the arms-bearing of the people was at all times an inherent right, and essential to the preservation of their freedom. For these reasons it must be seen, that nothing but an unacquaintance with our constitution, or vanity, or a servile mind, could court a distinction peculiar to a class of men, who embracing arms as a profession or trade, have, during their continuance in the army, sold their freedom to advance their fortunes, and parted with their independence with views of ambition or military fame; and that, so far from soliciting army rank, if offered them, it ought to be rejected as a bait to break down their independence and an encroachment on their liberties. Suffice it to say, to the honour of the second and third rank of field-officers of that time, nothing more was heard of a desire for army rank.—*PRO LEGIBUS ET LIBERTATE.*

#### PAPER CURRENCY.

SIR,—The present state of paper currency is an evil of the greatest magnitude, and calls for immediate remedy. It oppresses and impoverishes the people, to support in luxury an army of speculators, quartered in every town in the kingdom, who not only circulate their paper to an enormous amount, and thereby enhance the price of every article of consumption, but charge an interest to the public for the mere exchange of paper. If individuals put their names to paper, and circulate it as a matter of mutual accommodation, they must pay interest for the money raised thereon. This is bad enough; because it puts the man of real property and him of no property upon a footing, and the speculator will engage in hazardous enterprises, to the great injury of the fair trader, possessing property of his own, who would not put it to that risk. But a country banker circulates his paper, not only without paying interest for the money received upon it, but absolutely charges interest for it. Individuals engaged in mines, iron works, large manufactories, and even traders in country towns, set up for bankers, pay all their workmen with their notes, and if they discount bills, it is done with their own paper. It is a fact too notorious to be denied, that little else is in circulation throughout the country. I have known instances myself, where the people have such an objection to bank notes, that they would not be prevailed upon to

take any, not even one for commodities manufactured by them and brought to a public market, while they took the provincial notes without scruple. This arises from the apprehension of forged bank notes, which apprehension the country bankers encourage as much as possible. The cause of this immense circulation of paper, is undoubtedly the restriction of the Bank of England from paying in cash, which leaves the people the choice of the two; and they prefer the provincial to bank notes. This restriction gives a great advantage to the Bank of England, and consequently a loss to the public; and if they are suffered to continue to enjoy this advantage, surely some measures should be adopted to prevent individuals from fleecing the public in this manner. The restriction on the Bank is the cause of the increase of not only bank notes, but of the provincial paper: the increased quantity of paper enhances the price of commodities; the Bank and country bankers receive 5 per cent. for exchanging paper, that is, 5 per cent. for nothing. This produces an immense advantage to them, consequently a loss to individuals and the nation. If the government connive at, and encourage these various practices, they will, of course, support the government, however incapable or vicious. Before the restriction on the Bank, when the circulation of paper was left to its free operation, the increase of paper denoted the increase of wealth: now the reverse, for this plain reason; the Bank, as well as every private banker, while liable to pay in cash, were obliged to keep a certain quantity of cash by them to answer the demands made upon them, which must bear a proportion to the paper in circulation; and when they increased their paper, they must keep a proportionate increase of cash on hand, consequently, the more the paper in circulation increased, the cash on hand increased also; now, not being liable to pay in cash, they may increase their paper with impunity. The quantity of paper therefore in circulation, instead of representing the wealth of the nation, indicates its poverty, and gives a most dangerous influence over the government itself; for these men are supporters of any government who will countenance this pernicious system; who are equally ready to sacrifice the liberty and property of the nation, and whilst they arrogantly denounce all persons who presume to question the conduct of any or the worst administration as enemies to the state, and set themselves up as the only true friends of their country, they break down the ancient aristocracy, and destroy the constitutional rights of the crown, nobility, and people.



Such governments may be useful to such men, and such men to such governments; but if they are suffered to increase, or even preserve their present influence, they may greatly embarrass any administration, however able, who honestly consult the true interests of their country, instead of the selfish views of these men. It must be evident, that the only means of counteracting these evils would be, for the Bank, should there be no substantial reasons to the contrary, to commence its payments in cash; it would at least be one great remedy for these evils; and, at all events, as the country bankers gain 5 per cent. on all the paper they have in circulation, they should pay a high duty, equal to one, or one and a quarter per cent. thereon.—R. W.—*Winchmore Hill, April 20th, 1806.*

## VOLUNTEERS.

SIR,—I have felt exceedingly concerned on reading a passage of your last Register, in which you express your determination to demolish the column, which is to be erected on Epsom downs, in honour of the Southwark volunteers. The subject touches me very closely. I will explain; you must know then, Sir, that the projectors of this erection, wisely judging that a column was of little use without an inscription, and having also been told that nothing was equal to verse in conferring immortality, applied to me to exercise my talents upon the occasion. I must confess, that I acceded to their proposal with great alacrity; but less on account of the pecuniary compensation than from the pleasing idea of having my lines inscribed, in large characters, on a beautiful slab of marble, and read by all the passers by, for, at least, a century to come. It is not often, let me tell you, that the works of modern poets secure such durability, and such numerous readers. Your resolution, however, destroys, at once, my promised gratification. It bears peculiarly hard too upon me. Masons, perhaps, may have no objection to seeing their labours pulled to pieces, or forgotten; but this, I can safely affirm, is not the case with poets. As to the Volunteers, you have taken good care that they shall be remembered. But what is to be done, Sir, about my fame, upon which you are so cruelly putting your extinguisher? This is a tender point indeed; yet you have it in your power to set me completely at ease upon it, and, as you have an odd kind of impartiality about you, I think you will oblige me. If you have really made up your mind to demolish the column, then print my verses in your Register, and I shall always

be, your obedient, humble servant,—*TIM TAGRHIME.—Type Street, April 23, 1806.*

## INSCRIPTION FOR THE COLUMN ON EPSOM DOWNS.

Reader! thou wou'dst fain know why  
This proud column towers on high?  
Then learn that, on this barren down,  
Fifteen tedious miles from town,  
Fifteen tedious miles from home,  
Unus'd to toil, unus'd to roam,  
But burning with a holy zeal  
To keep secure the common-weal,  
The loyal Southwark Volunteers,  
A band heroic, scorning fears,  
Full fourteen days, in sunny weather,  
Contriv'd in tents to live together;  
Crack'd many bottles, toasted hearty;  
Most bravely swore at Buonaparté;  
Talk'd big, and held erect their heads;  
Nay, scarcely sigh'd for feather beds:  
Then back they march'd, all soldiers thorough,  
The pride and envy of the Borough;  
And hir'd a mason and a poet,  
That all posterity might know it.

*An extempore Ode to a modern Poet, on reading his "Ode to the Volunteers of England."*

Oh! no more of such rhyme!  
'Tis a sad waste of time,  
At least so to me it appears,  
For you to sit down,  
And puzzle your crown,  
Writing odes to our rare Volunteers.  
If greedy of praise,  
They must shine in some lays;  
To the task be the bell-man deputed;  
And none shall deny,  
While the doggel they eye,  
That the song to the subject is suited.  
What devil could induce  
You to put to such use  
A muse so delightful as your's?  
You might just as well,  
If the truth I must tell,  
Have be-oded a bundle of skewers.  
But when in your verse,  
So neat, and so terse,  
You talk of the Volunteers dying,  
For their country in fight,  
We swear, by this light!  
You must either be mad or be lying!  
Yet in justice I'll say,  
Should there e'er come a day,  
These heroes that calls to the field,  
Sure as e'er I was born,  
Not a soul but will scorn,  
Himself for a prisoner to yield.  
No, never the chain  
Of those Frenchmen so vain,  
Shall the legs of our Volunteers hamper;  
For to me 'tis quite clear,  
When the first gun they hear,  
Away in a body they'll scamper!  
When once they've begun,  
Like greyhounds to run,  
He who catches them sure will be cunning;  
Fou though as to fight,  
I've small thoughts of their might,  
I've great thoughts indeed of their running.



As to you we all own  
That much merit you've shown,  
In painting your dead Volunteers,  
Whose corpses so brave,  
The matrons all grave  
And maidens are washing with tears.  
But your heart set at ease,  
For o'er lubbers like these,  
No tears will the women be shedding;  
If a few out of breath,  
Should get trampled to death,  
Their widows will think but of wedding.  
Then, my friend, keep your laurels  
For those who the quarrels  
Of England by valour must settle:  
If the cits in red coat,  
On a garland will doat,  
Why make them a large one of nettle?

## THE ARMY.

SIR — Whether the disasters of the late unfortunate campaign arose from the incapacity of our friends, or the abilities of our enemy; from the blunders of Mack, or the talents of Buonaparté, certain it is, we find ourselves again reduced to contend single-handed against France; against generals accustomed to conquer, and troops elated with victory. If the terrors of invasion, so industriously circulated and so glowingly depicted, be founded on a conviction of its practicability, and used to rouse the courage and call forth the exertion of the people, from a sense that the *dirty channel* cannot alone afford us protection, our means of defence, our military force, becomes the object of consideration and inquiry. Is the army calculated for the exigency of the times? is it well organized, well commanded? These are questions every one puts, and would they could be satisfactorily answered. Leaving the volunteers to the disposal of those who maintain their efficiency, I shall confine myself to what concerns our regular army alone. Where, however, are we to look for this army, destined to repel our audacious invaders, and drive them back with ignominy to their servile shores? Doubtless it is assembled at some convenient spot, near the most vulnerable part of our coast, there, under the eyes of experienced leaders, incessantly preparing itself to uphold the honour of the British name; to offer to the admiring world the brilliant spectacle of courage and discipline successfully defending their altars and their homes. But no; that army to which the country must ultimately look, for its safety and independence, is frittered away in small detachments, along our widely extended boundary. Time, so precious and so fleeting, instead of being assiduously employed in perfecting an army, is wasted on its component parts. The grand principles of the art of war are lost in the frivolous attention to the minutia of dress and parade. We have fine regiments

of infantry, of cavalry, and of artillery, but by no means a well-disciplined army. Our junior generals and superior officers, instead of learning the difficult art of commanding, through the rough and thorny paths of obedience, generally aim at its offices, as it were, by the grace of God and the King's pleasure. Entrusted with the command of small corps, they are apt to forget that they are subordinate characters, destined to act subordinate parts, when united in larger ones, and either ford it away in all the plenitude of power, or too often sink quickly into the lap of indolence and luxury. And when the god of war, with his brazen trump, rouses them from their lethargic slumbers, how are they qualified to fulfil the duties of their station; how can they pretend to answer to their country for the lives of the brave men under their orders? Indeed some dainty, well-fed aid-de-camp may tell us, that the art of war is not to be acquired; that that coup d'œil, that intuitive glance, those master-strokes which decide the fate of empires, are the fruits of genius alone, the bounteous gifts of nature. With how sparing a hand though does she distribute them. Look into the copious volume of history; see, amongst endless details of wars and of battles, how few great generals have been produced. If it record the talents and victories of a Turenne, a Marlborough, or a Frederic, of how many hundred others is it only the calendar of disgrace. An army is a complicated machine, all the parts of which require to be frequently united by the hand of a master, or it becomes inert and useless. Instead, therefore, of parcelling out the army in small bodies, it would conduce to the improvement and information of officers of every rank, to assemble it in camps of instruction, there to teach it the grand manœuvres, thus procuring, in a state of peace, all the advantages of actual warfare. This was practised with success by Lord Cathcart, in Ireland, and on too small a scale by Sir John Moore, at Shorncliffe. And perhaps when a certain office shall cease to resemble a merchant's counting-house, and dull detail give place to wise and efficient measures, these examples may be more generally followed, and the country enabled to regard with proud indifference the menacing preparations of the enemy. I have thus endeavoured to point out the disadvantages of our present mode of distributing the army, as it affects its discipline and the intelligence of the superior officers. At a future opportunity, I will offer some remarks on its incompatibility, with a well-digested plan of defence.—ARISTARCHUS.—*Canterbury*, 10th March, 1806.



## PUBLIC PAPERS.

PRUSSIA.—*Papers relative to Prussia, presented by his Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament, April 21, 1806.*

No. 1. *Copy of a Dispatch from Francis James Jackson, Esq. to the Right Hon. Lord Mulgrave, dated Berlin, Jan. 27, 1806.*

MY LORD;—I have the honour of in-losing to your Lordship a letter, which, although dated yesterday, I have just received (4 p. m.) from Baron Hardenberg.—I hasten to forward it by Estafette to the Agent at Cuxhaven, in the hopes of its arriving there in time for the Thursday's packet. I also send to Lord Cathcart, by Estafette, a copy of the Prussian Minister's letter to me. I shall simply acknowledge the receipt of it, and inform his excellency, that I have forwarded his communication to your lordship. I have the honour to be, &c. F. J. JACKSON.

*Translation of Inclosure in No. 1.*

SIR;—I hasten to fulfil the promise given to Lord Harrowby, on the 8th of this month, to communicate to you, Sir, as soon as a final decision should be taken on the subject, the additional circumstances relating to the security of the North of Germany, and to the guarantee by the King, of the safety of those British troops which are in that part of the Continent.—A messenger from Munich has just brought his Maj. intelligence of the consummation of the arrangements which the present conjuncture of affairs has induced him to enter into with France, in order to save those countries, and especially the States of Hanover, from the misfortunes of another ruinous war, and to insure their tranquillity. As these arrangements stipulate particularly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the King, until the conclusion of a peace between England and France, his Maj. could not delay taking the necessary measures for the entry therein of a corps of his army, which will be under the orders of his Exc. the Gen. of Cavalry, Count Schulenberg Kehnert, to whom also the King has confided the administration of the country. His Maj. animated by the most lively desire to see the importance and the urgency of the motives which have induced him to take these steps, justly appreciated by his Britannic Maj. and his enlightened ministers, has directed Baron Jacobi to give a detailed explanation thereof at London.—It would be superfluous to point out to your attention, how urgent and indispensable in the present state of affairs, the re-embarkation of the

English troops in the North of Germany is become; since the retreat of the foreign troops is the condition upon which France has promised not to order her troops to re-enter Hanover, and since also it was upon this supposition alone, that the King guaranteed her security, I presume, that Lord Cathcart has already received, and is upon the point of executing the orders of his court for the return of those troops, for which transports have been waiting for some time past. I have, however, to request, Sir, that you would, for the purpose of still further dispatch, write to the commander-in-chief on the subject, and, acquainting him with the present circumstances, that you would induce him to hasten, so far as depends on him, a measure, in which these circumstances, and the approaching arrival of our troops, will not admit of any delay. I request you to accept, &c. (Signed) HARDENBERG. Berlin, Jan. 26.

No. 2.—*His Prussian Majesty's Proclamation on taking temporary possession of the Electorate of Hanover, dated Jan. 27, 1806.*

We, Frederic William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c. &c. hereby make known, &c. After the events which have terminated in peace between Austria and France, all our endeavours have been directed to ward off from these districts the flames of war, and its disastrous consequences, which momentarily threatened the North of Germany, and particularly the countries of the Electorate of Brunswick. With this view, and as the only possible means to attain it, a convention has been made and concluded between us and the Emperor of the French, in pursuance of which, the states of his Brit. Maj. in Germany will not be again occupied by French, or other troops combined with them; and, till the conclusion of a general peace, will be wholly occupied and governed by us; in pursuance of which, we have caused the Brunswick Electoral Countries to be occupied by the corps under the command of our General of Cavalry, Count Vonder Schulenburgh Kehnert, to whom, in our name, and till the peace, we entrust the administration of the said countries, in such manner that, through him, and the commission of government which he may think proper to appoint, all affairs relating to the government of the country may be transacted, and the necessary orders thereto communicated to the interior magistracy and magistrates.—We therefore charge, as well those, as the prelates, nobles, citizens, and all subjects and inhabitants of the said country, without exception, to conform themselves duly to these dispositions.



made for their welfare; and also to the commands of our before-mentioned commissaries of administration, and the commission by them to be appointed, as well with regard to civil as military affairs; not only not throwing any impediment in the way of our troops which are to march in, but to assist and afford them all the information in their power; and in the high or more general affairs of the country, and also in propositions and petitions thereto relating, alone and only to address themselves to the before-mentioned commissaries of administration, as standing highest under our immediate orders.—As by this measure we have in view the repose and tranquillity of the North of Germany and of the Brunswick States, so we have resolved to pay out of our Treasury for the necessities for our troops, according to the peace establishment, and leaving the extraordinary expenses of a state of war to be defrayed by the country; while we, on another hand, shall take care in general, that its revenues, during our administration, after deducting the expenses of govt., shall only be appropriated to its advantage.—We further promise, that our troops shall observe the strictest discipline; that attention shall be given to all just complaints; and in general, that every quiet and peaceable inhabitant shall be maintained in his property and rights, and, in case of need, be vigorously protected; but that, on the contrary, those who may refuse to conform themselves to the dispositions concluded on, and the measures which have been taken, or who may dare to counteract them in anywise, will have to reproach themselves for the rigid and disagreeable consequences which will unavoidably result to them. Given under the signature of our hand, at Berlin, the 27th Jan. 1806. (L. S.) **FREDERIC WILLIAM VON HARDENBERG.**

No. 3.—*Copy of a Note from Mr. Secretary For to Baron Jacobi Kloest, dated 17th March, 1806.*

The undersigned is commanded by his Maj. to state to Baron Jacobi Kloest for the information of his court, the great anxiety felt by his Maj. at the manner in which possession has been taken of the Electorate of Hanover. If his Prussian Maj. judged it expedient, in order to prevent French troops from approaching so near that part of his frontier, to take to himself the military occupation of the Electorate, it does not appear to his Maj. that it was by any means necessary that the civil govt. of that unhappy country should be subverted, or that an army more numerous, and consequently more injurious to the inhabitants, than necessity required, should be maintained there. His

Maj. relies, with the greatest confidence, on his Prussian Majesty's declaration, that the present occupation is merely temporary; but his Maj. cannot but express a wish, that the declaration on this point were more solemnly made in the face of Europe. The honour of the Court of Berlin, as well as the consideration mutually due to each other from two princes, so nearly connected in blood and alliance, seem to call for a clear explanation on this important subject.—His Maj. on his part desires to be equally explicit, and to put an end to all hopes, if such indeed have been entertained by the Court of Berlin, that any convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, will ever induce his Maj. so far to forget what is due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the Electorate.—His Maj. learns with concern, that it is in agitation to give up Anspach and other parts of his Prussian Majesty's dominions to Bavaria, in consequence of a convention with France; but he does not pretend any right to interfere, or to give any opinion, with respect to the propriety of the measures, whatever they may be, which his Prussian Maj. may deem eligible for the interests of his crown and people; at the same time it is to be observed, that his Maj. whether in his capacity of King of Great Britain, or in that of Elector of Hanover, was in no wise a party to the convention alluded to, or responsible for its consequences. The cessions, therefore, which his Prussian Maj. may make to his Majesty's enemies, can surely never be alleged as a justification of taking to himself his Majesty's lawful inheritance.—His Maj. therefore, hopes that his Prussian Maj. will follow the honourable dictates of his own heart, and will demonstrate to the world, that whatever sacrifices the present circumstances may induce him to make, with respect to his own territories, he will not set the dreadful example of indemnifying himself at the expense of a third party, whose sentiments and conduct towards his Prussian Maj. and his subjects have been uniformly friendly and pacific. Downing-street, March 17, 1806.

(Translation of No. 4.)—*Note Verbale.*

Until the explosion of the last continental war, his Prussian Maj. had no other object in view, than to secure the tranquillity of his monarchy, and that of the neighbouring states.—He was then able to effect this upon terms which met the entire approbation of every court. He has been desirous of doing the same since the breaking out of the present war. But the check of



the means has no longer been in his power. France has considered Hanover as her conquest, and her troops were on the point of entering it for the purpose of disposing of it definitively, according to the pleasure of the French Emperor, without the possibility of his Britannic Majesty's preventing it.—The occupation of that country by his Prussian Maj., and the shutting of the ports in the German seas, and that of Lubeck, against the British flag, (as was the case during the possession of Hanover by the French), were the indispensable conditions of an arrangement by which the country is secured against the entry of foreign troops, and the quiet of the North of Germany preserved.—This has not been obtained without painful sacrifices on his Majesty's part. Those of the House of Hanover are in no degree to be attributed to the King's measures, but are the inevitable consequences of a war, which his conciliating policy has in vain endeavoured to prevent. This war might have produced still more serious consequences. The treaty between Prussia and France at least protects the Northern States from farther evils, and could every power but duly appreciate how much they are indebted to the system he has adopted, the King would with justice obtain the gratitude of all.

**No. 5.—Proclamation of Count Schulenburg, announcing the Shutting of the Ports of the North Sea against the British Ships and Trade, dated Hanover, 28th March, 1806.**

In a treaty which has been concluded between his Maj. the King of Prussia, my most gracious Sovereign, and his Imperial Maj. the Emperor of France and King of Italy, it has been stipulated, that the ports of the North Sea, as well as all rivers running into it, shall be shut against the British ships and trade, in the same manner as when the French troops occupied the states of Hanover. In conformity to the orders I have received, I make this known to those whom it may concern, that they may guard against the consequences, as the troops of the King my master have received orders to warn off and not to admit such English ships as may endeavour to enter these ports and rivers, and as all necessary and proper measures will be adopted to prevent the introduction and transit of British goods. (Signed) The Comte de SCHULENBURG KEHNERT, His Prussian Majesty's Gen. of Cavalry and Commander-in-Chief of the Corps d'Armée, Hanover, 28th March, 1806.

**No. 6.—Proclamation of his Prussian Maj.**

*for taking definitive possession of Hanover, dated Berlin, 1st April, 1806.*

We, Frederick William III. King of Prussia, &c. hereby make known what follows: The wish to preserve and to secure to our true subjects, and to the states of the North of Germany bordering upon our provinces, the continuance of the blessings of peace, was at all times the object of our unceasing efforts. We flattered ourselves that we should attain this desirable end, by the resolution which we took in consequence of late occurrences, and which we made known by our patent of the 27th of Jan. by which the states of the Electoral House of Brunswick Luneburg were to be occupied by our troops, and taken into our civil administration. But as, since that time, the actual occupation of the states of Hanover, in exchange for the cession of three provinces of our monarchy, has become indispensibly necessary to the permanent tranquillity of our subjects and of the bordering states, we have signed a convention with his Maj. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, in conformity to which, the legal possession of the states of the Electoral House of Brunswick Luneburg, belonging by the right of conquest to his Imperial Maj. is granted to us in exchange for the cession of three of our provinces, and in virtue of farther solemn guarantees on each side.—In conformity to this, we hereby declare, that the countries of this Electoral House of Brunswick Luneburg in Germany, from this time forth, are to be considered as being in our possession, and subject to our power alone. From this time forth, the govt. and administration of these states will be administered exclusively, and alone in our name, and under our supreme authority. We require accordingly hereby the different magistrates dutifully to continue the functions confided to them, in our name, and under the superior controul of Gen. Count de Schulenburg Kehnert, who is named our commissioner, and of the commission formed by him. We expect no less from the nobility, the prelates, the burghers and subjects of these states, that they submit themselves willingly to this new order of things, from which a new epoch of tranquillity and of happiness will shine forth, and give thereby a proof of their devoted attachment and love for their country, and of their sentiments towards us; as we on our side shall certainly neglect no means of demonstrating our paternal solicitude for them, and our wish to render them happy. So given at Berlin, 1st April, 1806. (Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM. SCHULENBURG. HAUGWITZ.